October 1952

Fellowship

FRANK KELLER — *Spare-time Missionary*

The Individual and Civil Liberties, by H. H. Wilson

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ff The constant, relentless encroachment of hysteria and undemocratic thinking on civil liberties in this country, and what you and I can and should be doing about it is the subject of an article in this issue by H. H. Wilson. Mr. Wilson is a professor in the Department of Politics at Princeton University, and has recently been writing and speaking on this subject in a number of places. . . . Lyle Tatum, Executive Secretary of the Central Committee for COs, is the author of "A Time to Say No," in which he examines the value of the CO's position of refusing to join the army. . . . Glenn and Helen Smiley of the Southwest Regional office, who spent a couple of months in Europe in the spring, report on what they saw and heard in Berlin, that tragically divided city. . . . Peggy Pond Church's poem reminds us of Gandhi's birthday, which fell on the second of this month . . . and the meditation "And On Earth Peace" is by George M. Gibson, President of McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago.

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A. J. MUSTE, *Secretary*

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

CONSTANCE M. HAMILTON, *Associate Editor*

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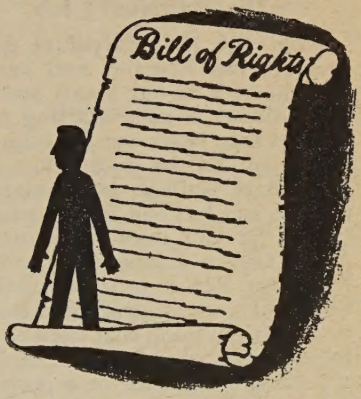
the INDIVIDUAL *and Civil Liberties*



By H. H. WILSON

SINCE 1938, when the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities began its work, civil liberties have been relentlessly eroded. The narrowing of meaningful freedom of speech, press, and association, and the undermining of Anglo-Saxon traditions of fair trial, are serious. But beyond this is the concern that these developments evidence a weakening of our devotion to human rights and of our confidence in the democratic process. We have tolerated conduct by public officials, legislators, administrators, and judges that would have seemed incredible even thirty years ago. Men and women have been maligned in our legislatures; denied the right of counsel; denied knowledge of the charges against them; denied opportunity to confront witnesses; and have been condemned before the public by press and radio. Pressure is exerted on lawyers so that in many instances individuals cannot even get adequate legal counsel. How far we have moved since 1943, when Wendell Willkie defended William Schneiderman before the Supreme Court! Schneiderman was a Communist, but Willkie was concerned only that his rights as an American citizen be defended. Today, investigating committees urge the disbarment of lawyers who defend those accused of subversive activities. Individuals are denied passports with no opportunity for a hearing and only the

explanation that their "travel abroad at this time would be contrary to the best interests of the United States." Properly the Soviet Union has been condemned for the application of this same totalitarian principle. Deplorable in any society, these practices are both more outrageous and more significant in America because of our traditions and aspirations.

The Individual's Job

What can the individual do to protect civil liberties and restore the integrity of our ideals and our institutions? A good starting point was set fifty years ago by John Jay Chapman. To the graduating class of Hobart College he announced that he had but one thing to say to them: "If you wish to be useful, never take a course that will silence you. Refuse to learn anything that you cannot proclaim. Refuse to accept anything that implies collusion, whether it be a clerkship or a curacy, a legal fee or a post in a university."

Never a placid role, the difficulty of this stance is compounded today by the complexity of the problem and the apparent remoteness of the jeopardy. Comparatively few individuals have experienced the denial of passports, of discharge from positions, or subjection to loyalty investigation. As the toll of traffic accidents seems to be just another impersonal statistic, so with the incidence of injustice or repression—until a digit represents a friend or neighbor. A majority is never interested in expressing unorthodox opinion. We normally have a positive aversion to those who would challenge our complacency. It is not "natural" for most of us to defend those who may outrage our most cherished prejudic and illusions. In any society only few individuals in any occupati are intellectually or temperame tally inclined to be pioneers, rebe agitators, or nonconformists. Cu tural coercion is so powerful, tl task of earning a living so engross ing and distractions so compellin that inevitably only a minority h the energy to question, to explor to crusade for unorthodoxy. O does not advocate unorthodoxy an end in itself, but for the creati potential of discontent. To brea dishes because they are ugly is ju tified, to smash them for the sour of the crash is depraved. And tho quite rare individuals who que tion and challenge serve, in A nold Toynbee's terms, as the ca fish who keep us herrings alert our responsibilities.

The "Secret Police"

Aware of the difficulties, Chap man nevertheless insisted, as w must, that each individual in democracy had to assume respon sibility whether for corruption, c for such tragedy as the Coatsvill lynching, or for the protection c civil liberties. He recognized th hazards and temptations confront ing those who remind society of it principles. "Try to raise a voice, he told the Hobart seniors, "tha shall be heard from here to Al bany and watch what it is tha comes forward to shut off th sound. It is not a German sergeant not a Russian officer of the pre cinct. It is a note from a friend o your father's offering you a place in his office. This is your warning from the secret police."

Now far more than in 1900, pres sures to conform, to remain silent in the face of abuses, are probably

greater than ever before in American history. In part there is a natural reluctance to question procedures which are justified as essential to national security. Concern with Soviet intentions alone does not explain, nor does it excuse complacence. Other democratic nations face the same challenge with fewer safeguards without sacrificing their principles. There appear to be long term trends in Western society which are antithetical to the essential qualities of a democratic people. In the 1830s De Tocqueville observed that "as men grow more like each other, the doctrine of the equality of intellect gradually infuses itself into their opinions, and it becomes more difficult for any innovator to acquire or to exert much influence over the minds of a people." Now David Riesman suggests that Western society is developing an "other-directed" character type dependent upon the opinions of others and desperately anxious to be "well-liked." This is a culture in which contempt for human personality seems endemic. No one wills it, rather we fervently protest our belief in the moral worth of the individual. Yet a callousness has accompanied the process of fitting man to be a productive unit in a rationalized industrial process.

Self-Respecting Individuals

There is in mass society increased need for the conscious development of self-respecting individuals, just because characteristic forces and institutions tend to overwhelm and submerge individuality. To at least a considerable extent this may be counteracted by individual effort. To do so requires understanding that until we become aware of those forces which converge on us to mold our opinions, determine our responses, and manipulate our actions we remain puppets jerked about by those who control key symbols. For "men may teach themselves by habit and association to suspect those inclinations and beliefs which, if they neglect the duty of thought, appear in their minds they know not how, and which, as long as their origin is not examined, can be created by any clever organizer who is paid to do so."

Affiliation Necessary

Like it or not, this age requires those who would influence events to join with others. In the defense of civil liberties and personal integrity the individual must affiliate with groups dedicated to this end. But membership is a means and not an end. The task of such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union or the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is not merely to file briefs or provide legal defense on behalf of those in trouble, important as this is. For "nine men in Washington," as T. R. Powell warned, "cannot hold a nation to ideals which it is determined to betray." The great contribution of these and similar bodies must be to alert us to the denial of democratic principle and continue the effort to change the climate of opinion. In this task each member may assist. There must be persistence in conveying to others the importance of defending civil liberties. Probably a considerable majority of Americans are genuinely confused, rather than hostile to free speech or to academic freedom. Those who deny the validity of these fundamentals of democracy

have the advantage of appearing to be champions of a "common sense" policy. Superficially it seems reasonable to insist that those who challenge basic premises of a society should not be encouraged. Why should democracy permit criticism by those who reject it?

Basis for Belief

It is essential that we acquire a clear understanding of the principles undergirding democracy, the basis for belief in civil liberties, and, equally important, a thorough grasp of the unstated premises of those who deny these things. There must be acute recognition that abandonment of these principles, or their compromise, is to concede defeat. For once a slight concession is granted to those who would deny the right of individuals to think for themselves there is no logical stopping point. Freedom of speech and association are not luxuries to be tolerated by a comfortably secure society and surrendered when we are challenged. They are the life blood, the source of strength, the dynamic that enables the free society to stand firm in the face of any threat. These are integral parts of democracy, as profoundly essential as our belief in the inherent worth of the individual. To limit their operation in pursuit of a meretricious unity is to undermine the moral foundation of democracy.

The self-respecting cannot concede that a "subversive" teacher or book can overwhelm and nullify critical intelligence. Characteristically, those who would censor our reading, our plays and motion pictures, who would insist that students in schools and colleges be subjected to *their* peculiar indoctrination, reveal a basic contempt for human personality and disbelief in the utility of critical intelligence. Analyzed, their arguments amount to saying that most people are incapable of thinking for themselves. Since they cannot reason it is necessary that they be indoctrinated with truth—their truth. Commonly they combine this belief with an assumption that "human nature" is an explosive force, that men are naturally radical, eager for change and readily manipulated. Ultimately, be it noted, our political and social views are largely determined by our estimate of human nature.

Man Is Conservative

Many businessmen and political leaders, especially those generally conservative in orientation, seem to assume that men are most receptive to change, instantly prepared to accept the latest panacea and act upon it. My reading of history and anthropology leads me to a diametrically opposite conclusion. Rather than being receptive to change, to revolt against accustomed patterns of behavior, men resist change in every phase of their lives. Only under conditions of catastrophe are we even prepared to accept mild alterations of existing patterns, and then we seek return to "the good old days" as soon as possible. Furthermore, cultural coercion is so powerful a force on the side of the status quo that those fearful of change can well afford to conserve their nervous energy. Revolutions are not created by school teachers, nor even by Communist agitators. Revolutions occur only when existing institutions have become corrupted, or fail to produce an approximation of their promises, and when leaders of the society have lost

their courage, their faith in existing institutions, and confidence in their own ability to govern.

We should not fear that our students may question some facet of human knowledge or social behavior. Rather we must be concerned lest they remain passive indifferents. Those concerned over the maladjustment, loss of faith, or the absence of conviction of our youth might well examine how this came about, despite the intensive indoctrination in "the American Way" which characterizes our mass media of communication, as well as much of our educational system. It is my conviction that students who have been encouraged to move from this level of belief based upon sheer indoctrination and the acceptance of ideas by a kind of osmosis, to one where they hold beliefs and values as a result of reasoning and intellectual conviction, are more likely to resist importuning by the lunatic fringe, whether of the right or left.

The self-respecting individual will not be panicked by awareness that the Soviet Union and a Communist party create a national security problem. He is capable of understanding that counter-espionage has been and will continue necessary, so long as the world is divided into nation states and force remains the ultimate sanction. Security measures, however, do not require the suppression of dissent, even dissent couched in terms repugnant to the majority. To be fearful of ideas is to be unfit for self-government. No self-respecting person believes he need have his critical faculties drugged by propaganda, or be tricked into a traitor's role.

Only a mature and confident citizenry, instructed in fundamentals of the political process, is capable of understanding that democracy constantly requires the weighing of possible gains against possible losses. For "toleration or liberty have no sense or use except as toleration of opinions that are considered damnable, and liberty to do what seems wrong." Certainly there is risk that some will be persuaded to accept half-baked ideas, though an awareness of history reminds us that in every field of human endeavor the great seminal ideas have met resistance and have been labelled "crackpot," "subversive," "irreligious." The democrat holds, with Jefferson, that "we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is left free to combat it."

Note on the Iron Curtain

We offer this without comment, for whatever it's worth.

A member of the FOR staff has been corresponding with a young man in Czechoslovakia. Recently, in a letter, he inquired about prices and wages in the United States. In answer, she sent him a copy of a popular magazine, a Montgomery Ward catalog, and a want-ad page from the *New York Times.*

Now she's had an acknowledgement on the back of a picture postcard, open to be read by anyone who chose. After thanking her for the material, he added: "I see the prices there in your country are lower and also the choice of goods is better than here. To this theme I shall write in my next letter."

Maybe it's negative, but COs feel this is

A Time to Say NO

by Lyle Tatum

THE ADDICTION OF OUR SOCIETY to armies and war is like the addiction of some people to strong drink. We think that the Russians will see our vast production and stop theirs, while they, doubtless, hope by piling up arms, to scare us out of using ours. This is the method Bob Burns tried, to cure his Uncle Jeb of drinking. Uncle Jeb was perpetually drunk, and seemed to have the idea that he could drink all that the distilleries could make. One night Bob took Uncle Jeb up on top of a hill where he could look down on a Kentucky distillery blazing with lights and working full blast.

"Look there, Uncle Jeb," Bob told the old man. "You can't possibly drink all they can make, so you might as well give up."

Uncle Jeb's face clouded for a minute, then he brightened up and replied, "No, but I got 'em working nights."

In its attempt to get away from war the world is like another drunk who was slowly walking around and around a light pole with the palms of his hands pressed against the pole. A friendly cop came along and suggested that it was time to be going home. "I can't," the drunk replied. "They've got me walled in."

While most of the world continues to feel walled in by war and the arms race, the conscientious objector has turned around and is walking in a different direction.

This may sound as though conscientious objectors have a greatly inflated idea of their own importance and the relevance of the ideas in which they believe, like the ants in a rather cynical statement by archy in Don Marquis's excellent and entertaining *the lives and times of archy and mehitabel.*

> i once heard the survivors
> of a colony of ants
> that had been partially
> obliterated by a cow's foot
> seriously debating
> the intention of the gods
> towards their civilization

I cannot prove that I do not overemphasize the significance of conscientious objection. I do consider it a very important factor in the world.

I am talking about conscientious objection as the refusal to be a member of the armed forces and a willingness to go to prison rather than into the armed forces, if that choice must be made. I do not include the I-A-O position, noncombatant duty in the armed forces, nor am I talking about refusal to register for the draft, refusal to pay taxes, or other testimonies that

sometimes accompany refusal to particiapte in the armed forces. What I am talking about is the purely negative position of saying "No" to participation in the armed forces, and the significance of this negative position without the adornments of saintly living, positive programs, and the other valuable attributes generally associated with religious pacifism.

If you feel that it is bad to be negative, then attempt to start your car with the negative terminal of the battery disconnected. We might also remember that the entire system of Jewish and Christian ethics has been built on the basis of the Ten Commandments, seven of which are stated as negatives.

We could consider the significance of this "no saying" to the objector himself, to his family, to the world, to the elimination of war, to history, to the church, or to a number of other things. The relationship of conscientious objection to all of these things is important. However, I wish to consider at this time the significance of conscientious objection to society in general; an area within which conscientious objection has often been considered as insignificant.

Conscientious objection, as defined above, has often been considered insignificant by both pacifists and anti-pacifists. Some pacifists feel that conscientious objection is of slight relevance when separated from good deeds or depth of religious expression and belief, or a particular theological concept.

Anti-pacifists, of course, consider conscientious objection about as relevant as spitting on a burning house.

I believe that conscientious objection is the most significant thing in my life and in the lives of most of the members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I do not think you have to be a saint to be a conscientious objector, but I do think you have to be a conscientious objector to be a saint.

When we talk about conscientious objection we are talking about the pants to a suit—perhaps a pair of pants without a coat or vest or a belt or even pockets or cuffs, but the pants. When we talk about conscientious objection, we are talking about the steak at a steak dinner—perhaps steak without onions, mushrooms, french fried potatoes or dessert, but the main part of the dinner.

Conscientious objection is significant to society in three main respects: as a political affirmation, as social testimony, and as religious practice.

Political Affirmation

Conscientious objection is political affirmation of basic democratic principles. I have met a lot of varieties of objection in my work with COs, but I have never met a man who took his stand because of his devotion to the Declaration of Independence. Yet it seems to me that there would be considerable logic to the position. The Declaration of Independence states: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Any man in the army has his life placed in jeopardy and his liberty and pursuit of happiness extremely restricted. Any man who truly believed that these rights are inalienable would have to object to militarism.

Practical Idealism

The Declaration of Independence represents the basic idealism of our country, but since our founding fathers were not conscientious objectors, but practical men, the Constitution was drawn up as the practical implementation of our idealism, and immediately certain inalienable rights faced modification.

The Constitution provided for free exercise of religion, but the courts have held that this does not include conscientious objection. The Constitution also provided that the rights of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, but it certainly has been by subsequent legislation. Perhaps the courts feel they keep a happy balance by prohibiting excessive pacifism or excessive belligerency. The real lesson is that it is difficult to protect idealism by law.

Conscientious objection affirms the political principles of this country in three ways: First, it is a symbol of the importance of the individual, a basic tenet of democracy. In a time of mass conformity, when every individualistic idea is suspect, the CO stands up and says, "I am an individual." The rest of the world may remark on what a queer specimen he is, but it is once more evident that mankind is not just a mass of duplicate personalities.

Secondly, conscientious objection is proof of the freedom of the individual. We widely proclaim this as the land of the free, but it sometimes appears that our only freedom is to go along with the crowd. The CO says that each man has not only the freedom but the obligation to choose the way of life he wishes to follow.

The CO's third political affirmation is the proof of the limitation of the power of the state. When faced with conscientious objection this limitation becomes not an abstraction of civics classes or the theoretical position of the democratic state but a reality. Often it is a harsh reality for the CO as, at the peril of his liberty, he says that there are things the state cannot force him to do. Nevertheless, it becomes evident that the powers of the state are limited.

Social Testimony

Conscientious objection is significant social testimony: It is a reminder that there is something wrong in our social system. Certainly a good many people have begun to question the policies of governments that keep us continuously at war or living in an armed camp. To such people the CO's demonstration that there are other solutions possible than force, destruction and death may be of great significance. The so-called great debate in this country has offered only the alternatives of where to use our force and how much force to use. The CO suggests an entirely different way.

Even General MacArthur has become a forceful proponent of the "War is hell" school of thought, but he never considered removing himself from war. As a matter of fact, when he was removed he was quite irate.

Conscientious objection is a significant social testimony for ethical concepts in social relations and personal behavior. We proudly proclaim ourselves as the great Christian country, but in practice we seem to feel that the government or a majority vote determines what is moral. The CO testifies that each

individual is responsible for his own conduct.

Religious Practice

In addition to its political affirmation and social testimony, conscientious objection is significant as religious practice. It offers a merger of religion and logic with daily living. As long as the church preaches love and practices war, religion will be irrelevant and unable to transcend emotionalism. In conscientious objection religion meets, rather than evades, the greatest problem of this time, and it can outline a system of belief consistent in emotional appeal and intellectual satisfaction.

The cessation of struggles between groups, either on this earth or in the Kingdom of Heaven, is the final goal of all religious faiths. In this respect, conscientious objection is the immediate practice of a basic goal of religious groups. It cuts across the boundaries of religious differences and points a way in which many religions can meet on a common ground. That this is so is testified by the fact that men of 165 different denominations went into Civilian Public Service Camps during World War II.

Conscientious objection is following the example of Jesus in the renunciation of force as a means of personal protection. We are all familiar with the kind of life Jesus led and his denunciation of force when he was taken to be crucified. Many believe that the rejection of Jesus by the Jews was caused by his unwillingness to lead them in a military revolt against the Roman occupation forces in his homeland.

Perhaps most significant of all, conscientious objection is essential for anyone wishing to live in the spirit of the New Testament. Probably Paul had more influence on the New Testament than any other man. He expressed the spirit of the New Testament in his first epistle to the Corinthians when he wrote:

"If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am become a sounding brass, or a clanging cymbal, and if I have the gift of prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge; and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and I give my body to be burned, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing."

CO and Love

We have been discussing the significance of conscientious objection to society, not the value of love. We know that conscientious objection

ON THE COVER

The young man on the cover is Frank Keller, a Navy veteran of World War II and a member of the Fellowship since February 1951. He runs a butcher shop in Souderton, Pennsylvania, and stirs up the best scrapple made in Philadelphia or its environs. (They don't make real scrapple any place else.) A Mennonite, married and with two children, he has gotten engagements in various churches, young people's groups, and other places for FOR speakers, as many as eight in a month. He spreads the FOR word in other ways, too, in his home town and neighboring communities, and is our present shining example of what a person can do who is determined to work for peace.

in itself does not imply the use of love or the presence of it, and that many CO's show few expressions of love in the fullness of the spirit discussed by Paul. But though conscientious objection is possible without love, love is not possible without conscientious objection to participation in war. You cannot do good unto those who hate you and participate in war against them. You cannot love your enemy and kill him.

I think that eventually history will prove the validity of conscientious objection and the way of the CO will become the way of the world. When the last old soldier fades away, he will be buried by a conscientious objector.

For Gandhi's Birthday

This is your birthday.
The sky is clotted with grey clouds. The aspens on our mountains
are saffron yellow. I who never knew you
am fasting to be near you,
through you to be near God.
I am grateful that you lived in our own time,
that the world where you found God is our world.
It was you who showed us
in our day the meaning of peace, how a man can live it
in the world as it is, a man who has set his heart free
from all the human heart yearns for except God.

Truth was your being,
your name for God, that which can never alter
for all men's prayers or tears, truth that no violence,
weaponed or weaponless, can shake; and while around you
men stormed to make truth serve their wills, you only
prayed to obey all truth.
Prayer and fasting
became for you one gesture. This was something
we dared not understand: to own no master
but God and only God, and in your hunger
to be completely free, both peace and freedom
won in one gesture, the last weapon yielded
wherewith man guards his life.
How shall we dare nonviolence
who still claim something to defend? Only who trust God
with his whole life, and with his death, has learned love.

PEGGY POND CHURCH

And on Earth Peace

By GEORGE M. GIBSON

FAITH IS FOR HARD TIMES and for situations that offer no immediate visible solution. When dire dilemmas narrow choices and seem to dictate that men suspend their hopes, then is the precise time when faith asserts herself, refusing to accept the inevitable. There are many unanswerable questions that the pacifist must meet. He can give no absolute assurances that this course or another would result in a sure thing. But he asserts his faith, without apologies, and stands true to his commitment. That commitment, and the faith he holds, were made for such times.

There are two temptations that arise from difficult times. The true pacifist prays to be delivered from the deceptions of both, and his faith increases with the difficulties.

The first is the temptation to transfer faith from reconciliation to violence. All visible factors seem to indicate the failure of peaceful efforts; to continue to follow the way of reconciliation with forces which scorn reconciliation seems to point to the very disaster of freedom. So many now turn their faith in peace to faith in force. It is still faith. The belligerent person can offer no more blue-prints of his postwar order than the pacifist. He should be reminded of this whenever he speaks with loudest conviction that his course of warfare will save freedom. And the pacifist should remind himself when opposite persuasions seem most plausible that the course of conflict is a course of faith and not knowledge.

The second temptation, while recognizing the desirability of peace, finds it valid only in another world. With one of Edwin Arlington Robinson's characters, it moans:

> I'm glad they say that there's another world,
> For this one's a disease without a doctor.

Many earnest people yield to this temptation. The pressure of sordid events in this world crushes hope; despair ensues; this world, with its sin, conflict, bloodshed, must be abandoned to its fate, and peace must be looked for only beyond time. History will not be redeemed; it will be doomed by man's inherent bent to pride and lust. Christ at his coming will bring time to an end and will set up another order. There is something valid in this. The ultimates of God are always beyond the earth and on the other side of time. Christ's kingdom is never wholly of this earth. But it is amazing how this true sense of something ultimate becomes for many an escape from the responsibilities of faith in this life. This increase of otherworldliness now sweeping through European Christianity and influencing American Christianity would have been unthinkable a few years ago, and may be accounted for only in terms of

the difficulty of the present political situation.

The pacifist will not succumb to this distortion of a vital Christian truth. The Kingdom of Heaven is, indeed, "not of this earth," but it is to come to earth, and for this all Christians pray all the time. The man of faith is "in the world, but not of it," and must interpret both terms into his daily discipline of life. The welcoming chorus at the birth of the Savior proclaimed peace on earth, and among men, precisely where it is needed.

To this end the pacifist gives himself in faith and consecration, seeking for increase in strength in proportion to the difficulty of his times.

PRAYER

Lead us, O Christ, not into temptation, but into a larger faith. Help us to believe in thee when we can no longer believe in ourselves, and believing, find strength for our task. Where hope seems impossible, open before us new possibilities, undreamed of by ourselves, and bless thy people everywhere with strong, creative life. AMEN.

Conscience

It may be said that our country's survival in part depends on the number of citizens in it who transparently and at personal cost obey God's law. The obedience to God's law may for the moment obligate them to break some man-made law at some particular point. But if it is really in the spirit of love, that activity in a profound sense is the "fulfilling of the law."

. . . If, to quote a British major general, "There is no longer any such thing as national defense but only national destruction through the use of mechanized force"; if, to quote General Bradley, chief of our own military staff, "War itself is immoral"; if, to quote a great statement of international law issuing from the higher courts at Nuremberg, "a citizen is morally responsible for his own acts even if living under an immoral government and that citizen should refuse to obey his government when his government ordered him to do an evil act," we have to keep our minds open. To what?

To this: Conscience, passing the test, can be one of the most constructive forces in the community, helping to preserve rather than destroy what is most valuable and worth saving. If the method of reconciliation and peace-building a man uses is in line with the will of God as that will is best revealed among us human beings, why be afraid of that man? "What eternally ought to be in this universe, regardless of cost or consequences," is important. Maybe we are contributing to our country's security only to the degree that we are loyal to that highest.

Allan Hunter, in
Conscience, Your Honor, Is Important, Motive, May 1952.

Life in a Broken City

By GLENN AND HELEN SMILEY

BERLIN, TORN by the intensity of the East-West struggle, is one of the most challenging and dangerous cities in the world, and it was with great excitement that we approached our visit there in May. We had to fly in, as Americans are not allowed to go by train through the ninety miles of territory belonging to East Germany that separates the city from West Germany. Going from the airport to the hotel we were sickened by the amount of war damage we saw, and later found that this was only a very small part of the total picture. We settled at a small hotel in downtown Berlin which had only two floors in use, the rest having been bombed out and never rebuilt. Across from our window was the beautiful Kaiser Wilhelm church standing in ruins, with a part of a mosaic hanging from a gaping hole, and the clock in the tower stopped at the hour of 11:35.

We were exceedingly fortunate to have as our guide (and hostess, after the first night), the secretary of the FOR group in Berlin. With her help we were able to visit East Berlin on two days and to glimpse life behind the Iron Curtain. Travel from the western zone to the east was simple at that time, for the transportation system of the entire city of Berlin is owned by the Communists, and there is little effort to differentiate between the east and the west while on the trains. However, at the line dividing the sectors on the street there is a sign on the west side saying "You are now leaving the British sector" and on the east side immediately, a sign saying "You are now entering the Democratic sector." Following this are huge pictures of Stalin draped in bunting with the words "Long live Stalin—the friend of the German people," posted frequently along the streets.

We ate at the restaurants owned by the Russian Communists, and had a very good meal for little money. One thing that impressed us immediately upon entering the east zone was the silence of the place. It was so heavy one felt it like humidity. Everywhere people were silent, and if we happened to walk near where two people were talking in low tones, their conversation immediately ceased. Our guide explained that it was what outsiders call "the German look"; that is, people look behind them before they engage in any conversation, and immediately are alerted if someone happens to walk within hearing distance of them. This habit was developed in Germany during the time of Hitler, and unfortunately many people have had no opportunity to *un*learn it.

Our guide took us to the war memorial cemetery where seven hundred of the Russian soldiers who died in the battle for Berlin lie buried. The place is beautiful, and

has huge Russian flags bowed to the earth in sorrow (done in stone) on either side of the entrance, and sixteen columns with friezes, picturing human life's various categories—laborers, soldiers, mothers, families, etc. On each frieze is a message from Stalin directed to this particular group, saying what the Communists plan to do for them as soon as possible. Against these promises, one hears stories of the treatment of the people of East Germany, as told by relatives, students, etc., who are among the 300-400 refugees coming into West Berlin from the eastern zone daily. Two students from the University of Jena told us about ten of their colleagues who were sentenced to ten years in prison by the Communists, because they had in their possession a West Berlin newspaper. Two more students were given 15 years each because in addition to the newspaper, they had some other western publications which they had brought with them from the Berlin Festival last year.

A Propaganda Film

Part of our agenda was attendance at a propaganda film in East Berlin. This was what it was advertised to be, and we laughed when we saw the similarity of the Russian propaganda to that of the U.S. It is almost identical, only turned inside out. *We* are the people who will not cooperate, *we* are the ones who only understand the use of force, who are imperialists and expansionists—out to take over Russia and the world. All propagandists apparently attend the same school!

On our second night in Berlin we were privileged to meet about twenty members of the FOR group there, and to hear their stories. Here are people who have attained a spiritual calmness and even *exuberance* that is amazing to the casual visitor. These men and women have given themselves to the alleviation of suffering and the reconciliation of opposing factors in their city. "We frankly enjoy the unique situation into which we have been cast by the power struggle between East and West," their leader said. During the war and immediately thereafter, when fellowship was everything, they were very happy, feeding those that were hungry, helping Jews to escape, etc. They often long for these "good old days." The background of this exuberance on the part of these people is laid in the years of suffering during the war, and finds expression in helping the present stream of refugees who make their way into West Berlin daily.

Faith and Optimism

Although they are fully aware of the danger of their position, their faith and optimism is rooted in their experience that there is "that of God in all men" that does respond to human need and suffering. Story after story of the existence of "that of God" in unexpected places was told by this group. On that fateful day of May 7, 1945, when the "liberation of Berlin" took place, a young Russian officer came and told the women of an apartment house in which one of the members lived, that soldiers were coming that way and they should hide their watches and other valuables. Then he stood in the door and told the soldiers to go on, that there was "nothing in this place." Another member told of

Russian soldiers entering a church to find people praying in front of the altar. Quietly they left without disturbing the worshipers. In another instance, a German nun was raped by a Russian soldier. Upon being sentenced to death by the Communists, the priests and nuns pleaded for his life, saying "We should not return evil for evil." The man's life was spared.

Most of the members that we met were either working with refugees or needy groups, or dealing directly with delinquents of one sort or another. The problem of the delinquents is heightened by the existence of groups such as the Kampbund Deutsche Jugend, a German youth group headed by American army officers, who prepare boys to go into the east zone with propaganda. If they are caught, they may receive up to 24 years in prison. Of course the American officers are not responsible for them, and it is known that one entire class in a school in West Berlin was picked up and imprisoned in the east. There is another group called the Hildebrand group, or the League Against Inhumanity, which trains young people in sabotage, etc.

Work with Refugees

Opposing this is the work of the members in such an organization as a church mission whose leader we met at the FOR meeting. She told us that the project has given physical aid and hope to thousands of refugees coming into West Berlin. Last year, she and her seventy workers, with a budget of only $100,000 and eight small stations in Berlin, serviced 497,892 refugees, giving them clothing, food, encouragement, and a place to sleep until they could find other quarters. Some of these people possessed only what they had on their backs, and one man even fled in his pajamas!

Why They Fled

The reasons are many and varied why these people came. Fifteen percent of them actually were fleeing for their lives. Others had been refugees before and therefore were not particularly hard to uproot. Some came legally, to visit relatives, or for economic reasons. Many were young people, lured by RIAS, the radio Voice of Freedom, which promised abundance of work, good wages, etc. When they arrived, however, they found this not true, and were destitute until they could either make arrangements to go back to their homes, or make contact with people in the west who could help them. Many of them who could do neither were placed in camps to stay for months. These camps became veritable recruiting stations by military men of the west, and juvenile delinquency abounded. Many of the boys say "All this (including treatment in the camps) is just to fit us for army life." The tired face of the woman as she told us of these conditions made us realize the terrible burden that rests on the German people.

Our last day in Berlin was spent visiting the eight stations that make up that mission. Here we saw the very carefully kept records of the number of people helped each month since the program started; the food pantry, furnished through CARE parcels sent to them from America; the haggard faces of new refugees coming in for their first contact with the mission;

the crowded rooms where people took turns sitting on benches during the night to sleep; a hearty meal of rice and brown sugar being served to hungry people; and above all, the cheery faces of the workers as they listened to the refugees' stories. These are experiences we will not soon forget.

Anti-Semitism Growing

Anti-Semitism seems to be growing, and there is a special work to be done in Berlin by the FOR in this field. More help is desperately needed. We were able to participate in the Week of Brotherhood, held by the organization in Berlin that seems to be similar to the National Conference of Christians and Jews in this country. The program that we attended was an impressive one, and included participation by such famous actors and actresses as Frederich Maurer and Hilda Korber. Anti-Semitism in Berlin seems to be along the same patterns as that in America, although the background from the days of Hitler is too horrible to retell.

The FOR people here feel that nowhere in all the world do individuals have the opportunity to be as creative as they do, and we felt this was certainly true. The gratifying thing is that they recognize their opportunity and are working at it with all their resources. We were more than ever convinced that pacifists have a stronger position in approaching Communists than anyone else in the west, for we are not put in the position of defending our military, whereas they *must* defend theirs, and as a result find themselves in the same reactionary camp as those of every land who condone and use violence and warfare.

Impressions at Random

By Glenn and Helen Smiley

We were not emotionally prepared for the ruins in Germany, even though many cities are being rebuilt.

Individual Americans seem to be well received by the little people, such as those in the third class compartments in which we always traveled, but American foreign policy is suspect everywhere.

The general feeling is that there is more danger that the West will start a war than that the East will.

Amazing spiritual vitality on the part of small groups in Europe, although an impression of sterility as regards the Church.

Tremendous admiration for pacifist leaders and membership in face of almost insurmountable difficulties.

A feeling gained after talking with Communists that pacifism perplexes them; and a feeling that we do have an answer in the way of nonviolence.

A revitalized faith in the pacifist way of life, having seen it vindicated amid the ruins of a continent.

News from the Peace Front

F.O.R. Conference Hears Chandy and Tang

The FOR National Conference, held at Lancaster, Ohio, September 5-7, and attended by about two hundred people, centered about the theme of "Positive Pacifism in a Disintegrating Society."

The opening session on Friday night was addressed by A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the FOR, who discussed the nature of the present world crisis and the apocalyptic age in which we live. Mr. Muste declared that we must face the fact that Western civilization is crumbling and cannot be saved. Instead of wasting our energies in trying to patch it up, we should devote ourselves to creating the new society we hope to see in the world. If we do not do this, or if we try and fail, the society that arises out of the present world revolution may be a much worse one than we have known. After Mr. Muste's speech, members of the panel commented briefly on the implications of such an analysis within their own special fields.

Saturday morning the panel of experts, with Lyle Tatum as moderator, discussed the kind of world in which we live and the outlook for pacifists, with their own fields in mind. The members of the panel were Dr. Margaret Morgan Lawrence, child psychiatrist, practicing psychoanalyst, and instructor in psychiatry at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University in New York; Professor A. M. Rehwinkel of Concordia (Lutheran) Seminary in St. Louis; Herbert Stroup of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Brooklyn College; E. E. Seubert of the Department of Education of Washington University in St. Louis; Dr. James Morgan, of the Survey Research Center in Ann Arbor and the Department of Economics at the University of Michigan; and A. J. Muste.

After an hour and three-quarters of discussion among the panel members, the floor was opened to the audience for questions and comments. On Saturday afternoon conferees broke up into interest groups led by the various panel members, to discuss in more detail the implications of pacifism and the world situation in their particular fields. The latter part of the afternoon was devoted to recreation, which included softball and several cutthroat games of croquet.

On Saturday evening the Conference heard K. K. Chandy, FOR leader and head of the Christava Ashram in Travancore, South India; and Christopher Tang, who with his wife, escaped from China a few months ago and is in this country translating works of Christian theology into Chinese for future use in China. The Conference closed with Sunday morning worship in the lovely outdoor chapel, with K. K. Chandy preaching the sermon.

American Relief for Korea (ARK) sent 5,500,000 pounds of clothing and shoes to Korea in the first year of its existence.

4,000 Arrested in African Resistance

Twenty top leaders of the growing passive resistance campaign against the racial segregation laws of the Union of South Africa were brought to court in Johannesburg on August 26 on charges of encouraging communism. Outside the court building 2,000 of their supporters gathered, roaring, booing and chanting the national anthem until the court requested the defendants to calm the crowd. Elderly Dr. James Moroka, chief of the African National Congress, and fiery Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, head of the Indian National Congress in South Africa, strode out and called for silence. The demonstrators hushed immediately, and the hearing proceeded.

The racial segregation laws, which keep 9 million non-whites completely subject to the 2½ million whites in the Union of South Africa, have been greatly strengthened and broadened under the government of Premier Daniel Malan. In a period when colored peoples all over the world are beginning to demand equality the South African government is attempting to go even farther in the other direction. As a result, the African and Indian groups have organized a passive resistance campaign to the segregation laws, which prohibit non-whites from even walking in certain sections, and which are much more stringent than those of our own South. On one day in August, 426 people throughout the country were arrested for violating various segregation laws, such as ignoring "European only" signs in railroad stations and other public places. By the end of September, three months after the beginning of the campaign, over 4,000 people had been arrested.

Manilal Gandhi, who had at first feared that the campaign would flare out into violence, wrote later: "I am simply amazed at the non-violent spirit and the discipline the Africans in the present struggle are showing. No one had dreamt that they could keep so calm, cool and collected. Father's spirit seems to be watching over and guiding them."

Soviet Acknowledges Visit of Pacifists

The Soviet Union has acknowledged the unofficial visit last summer of four U.S. Peacemakers to Baden, Austria, and their distribution to soldiers of leaflets printed in Russia, urging them to refuse military service.

The Moscow English language paper *News*, on January 15 commented editorially, "Supposing a group of Soviet citizens illegally crossed into the American-occupied zone of Germany, entered American army barracks and distributed leaflets among American soldiers urging them to desert the army. . . . The culprits would be arrested on the spot. Nothing of the kind happened in the case of the four Americans who had crossed into the Soviet Zone. . . . But no army in the world would tolerate foreign agitators spreading desertion leaflets."

The Syracuse FOR cooperated with two other community groups in sponsoring an interracial and interreligious "family picnic" there in August which was attended by 200 people, including 40 foreign students.

Gandhi Disciple Distributes Land

Vinoba Bhave, friend and disciple of Gandhi, a year ago made a request for a voluntary gift of land from a village for local landless untouchables. The request brought an unexpectedly generous response, and from that beginning he went on, walking from village to village, asking for free gifts of land for the landless. In two months he had received 12,000 acres of land, which was distributed to those who needed it by village committees, with the provision that none can be sold for ten years. Within a year, he had collected more than 175,000 acres.

The object of Vinoba's movement is not merely distribution of land to the landless. It is a first step to renouncing the right of individual ownership in land. The goal is the transformation of each village into a family owning all the land jointly and planning accordingly toward the ultimate solution of the land problem. Other purposes of the movement are to eliminate the consumption of machine-made products, to encourage village industries, to eliminate the money economy and strengthen a nonviolent society, to work toward food self-sufficiency, and to have the government establish a policy of promoting Basic Education and a wide program of constructive work along Gandhian lines.

* * *

Letter from Gandhi Gram

A recent letter from Richard Keithahn giving news of the Gandhi Gram, a community devoted to pacifist principles, reports that they have moved forward in the creation of a "family" made up of illiterate and college bred Indians devoted to the service of South India. Under Mildred Keithahn's direction Gandhi Gram is sending nurses and midwives into over thirty villages. The group is aware of the strategic work to be accomplished within the next few years if India is to come to full social and economic freedom. Keithahn says:

"It is a tussle whether India will win out in her struggle for full freedom—win out before the Communists take over. She has to do so much in so little time and with tremendous handicaps. In these three years of freedom four thousand government-subsidized irrigation wells have been dug in our district alone; electric output has been doubled in the nation. . . . At Gandhi Gram we have had the largest rice-yield ever experienced in our area using our own composting. . . . Surrounding villagers are taking interest. Soon our health, sanitation and more-food program will be taking root in the villages."

Psychologists Bar Jim Crow

Officials of the American Psychological Association announced in September that their organization would hold no more national meetings in Washington because of racial segregation there. They cited a number of "embarrassing incidents" first of which was refusal of the YMCA to accommodate student delegates on an integrated basis. The YWCA, on the contrary, the report pointed out, extended its full service to all women delegates.

Pacifist Education Center in New York

Mt. Morris House in New York City, long a center of pacifist activity, is being reorganized so as to increase its usefulness as a pacifist education center. It will continue to be a residence, whose principles have been characterized as "pacifist, religious, non-drinking, simple living, cooperative, sharing of work, participation in the work of the house." In addition, a Mt. Morris House Committee has been set up which will be responsible for planning the general life and activities of the House, including the proposed educational program. The residents of the House themselves will of course continue to plan their internal living arrangements.

The backbone of the educational program will be the initiation of a regular Sunday afternoon program for which A. J. Muste will be responsible, and most of which he will conduct himself. There will be a worship service beginning at 4:00 p.m. and ending at 4:30, then a fifteen minute break. At 4:45 a discussion meeting will begin, dealing with current issues or subjects of particular concern to pacifists which will be led by A. J. Muste, sometimes also with visiting leaders, and will last till 6 p.m., after which sandwiches will be served for those who wish to remain for a light supper.

The first Sunday of the series was October 5, with Gandhi's birthday as the theme.

Urges Negro Emissaries Abroad

The United States should send Negroes abroad in official capacities, says the Rev. Dr. James H. Robinson, after a six-month trip around the world under the auspices of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

Dr. Robinson, who is pastor of the Church of the Master in Harlem, reported that Asiatics wonder whether Americans can be sincere about democracy if there is a color problem here, and feel that the employment of Negroes in United States Embassies and in church capacities would aid inestimably in countering these suspicions, and allow Negroes themselves to explain to the highly race-sensitive Asiatics that race tensions in the United States are lessening.

Support Pastor Against Segregation

A young minister, placing himself in the hands of his congregation, has brought about the end of racial segregation in the Bethel Lutheran Church of Pittsburgh.

When a large part of the congregation objected to his inclusion of Negro children in the church's educational and recreational program, the Rev. Harold M. Herhold submitted his resignation. But a vote of the members supported his position 81 to 45, and he withdrew his resignation with the statement: "The congregation has done the Christian thing. I believe that I can expect not just the toleration of members from all groups in the community, but the real Christian acceptance of men seeking God."

Eight faculty members of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, recently announced they would resign unless Negro students were accepted in the School of Theology.

COs In and Out of Prison

James Relyea, formerly classified I-A-O, has now been given I-O.

Ray Arvio, who registered for the draft but later decided he could no longer cooperate with conscription, was arrested in Philadelphia in August.

Merle Clark, charged with refusal to submit to induction, was acquitted by Judge Wm. Alvah Stewart in the Western District of Pennsylvania on June 26. Clark's local board had classified him I-A and then ordered him to report for induction without processing his request for an appeal.

Loy Imboden was recommitted to prison to serve a 5-year sentence, after being out on bail pending appeal. The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals sustained his conviction, and the Supreme Court refused to review it.

John Pekarski was convicted of refusal to submit to induction in the Court of Judge J. Joseph Smith in Hartford, Connecticut.

Peter Klopfer and Pete Kundicoff were sentenced in June and July respectively to three years on probation, by Judge Leon Yankwich in Los Angeles. During World War II Judge Yankwich granted probation to COs when it was without precedent in other districts, and is still one of the very few who does it.

Andrew Borisuk, Jr., received a 1½ year sentence from Judge Thomas Meaney in Newark, New Jersey, on June 20, and is free on bond pending appeal.

Paul Zimmerman was sentenced to three years by Judge Grim in Philadelphia on August 12.

Rubin Kaufman of Danville, Illinois, received a year and a day sentence on July 7.

Judge F. X. McGohey dismissed the case against *William Perle,* a Jehovah's witness making a CO claim, in New York on June 18. He called the report by Brooklyn hearing officer Gallagher "inept." The Metropolitan Board for COs in New York feels that Gallagher is not only a poor hearing officer but irrationally hostile to COs and has been trying to have him removed.

Herbert Kelman's appeal was rejected by the Presidential Appeals Board within 48 hours, an amazingly short time. On July 8, he refused to report for induction.

Larry Atkins, nonregistrant now in Petersburg, was denied parole. When asked if he would still refuse to register he said he had not changed his mind; and the fact that he had talked with a Communist prisoner was also entered in his record.

(All the above were prosecuted for refusal to submit to or report for induction unless otherwise noted.)

The National Conference of Methodist Youth, of which FOR member Jameson Jones is national president, at its annual meeting in August adopted resolutions supporting COs, opposing ROTC units on Methodist college campuses, and decrying racial segregation.

Dr. Frank C. Laubach, pioneer literacy expert and missionary educator, and an FOR member, was unanimously nominated a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize by the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches in June.

Judge Rules Out Secret FBI Report

In an opinion that, if followed in other courts and other types of cases, could have far-reaching effects, Judge J. Joseph Smith of the United States District Court at Hartford, Connecticut, acquitted two Jehovah's witnesses of refusal to report for induction because the case against them was based on FBI secret reports. The Jehovah's witnesses were Joseph Oller, Jr., and Raymond T. Donovan, who had been classified I-A-O rather than IV-D, the ministerial classification they had requested.

In any appeal from a draft board's ruling concerning CO status, the FBI makes an investigation. A Department of Justice hearing officer then interviews the CO and tells him the general nature of the case against him, but not who has given adverse information. The Department of Justice then makes a recommendation on the case to the state appeal board, which it is bound to consider but does not have to follow. In the cases of Oller and Donovan the Department of Justice recommended that they be given I-A-O, but refused, as in all cases, to reveal to Selective Service officials or to the court the names of witnesses who gave testimony unfavorable to the registrants.

In his precedent-making decision, Judge Smith ruled, "Since the government refuses to make available the investigative reports or indeed a complete finding of the subordinate facts contained therein on which is based the advisory opinion which the Board is by law bound to consider, neither registrant nor Appeal Board is able to test the reliability of the witnesses to those subordinate facts or t bring forward other witnesses t the same facts to test their accu racy. . . .

"The Court, on the crimina trials, in the absence of the pro duction of the reports and a full record of the hearing before the hearing officer, is unable to find that the use of the withheld re ports as a basis for an adverse find ing was other than prejudicial to the registrant.

"Oller and Donovan must, there fore, be acquitted since the use o the adverse opinion of the Depart ment of Justice in determining the classification while concealing the basis of the opinion, denied the de fendants due process of law and made the classification illegal."

Since this is a District Court and not a Supreme Court ruling it is not binding on other courts. If it should be followed by others, however, it could have far-reaching effects. The refusal of the FBI to reveal sources of information in other cases, notably those concerning loyalty charges, has aroused protests among liberals, and an adverse ruling in a case of that kind would certainly cause a stir.

The Friends Committee on National Legislation urges the writing of letters to Congressmen to attempt to prevent further cutting of the humanitarian, economic and educational part of our foreign aid which even now is 68 per cent military.

CARE has prepared two midwifery packages, a $25 basic kit and a $10 replacement kit, to help save the lives of mothers and babies in rural villages of India and Southwest Asia.

Bar Forced I-A-O Classification

COs who are judged sincere by their draft boards may not be classified I-A-O and forced to take noncombatant service against their will, and Selective Service headquarters have so informed draft boards. The notification was based on a ruling by Judge Charles J. McNamee of the U.S. District Court of Ohio, in the case of James J. Relyea, a CO who asked for I-O classification, and was given I-A-O by his draft board instead. In his decision Judge McNamee said:

"They (the draft board) accepted the defendant's professions of sincere and conscientious objections on religious grounds as being truthful, but they attempted, and in my opinion without any basis in act, to assert that while he was sincere and conscientious, that sincerity extended only to his active aggressive participation in military service and that he was not sincere in his statements that he was opposed to war and participation in war in all forms."

Lay Workers and Ministerial Status

Laymen who devote their career to "furthering the interest of the church" may be eligible for a IV-D (ministerial) classification, even if they are not ordained clergymen, according to the National Appeals Board of Selective Service. Cautioning that this was not a blanket exemption and that any individual case would be decided by the local board on its own merits, the Appeals Board indicated that a man who has decided to devote his entire life to furthering the interest of his church, is employed full time by a church or religious group, and derives all his income from that church, may be considered for IV-D. This may also mean that missionaries might receive ministerial exemption.

Belgian Urges Zones of Safety

Baron Antoine Allard, a Belgian pacifist who has been actively associated with World Citizen, World Federalist and Mundialist movements in Europe, is working for the adoption of a program to stop war. One suggestion he makes is that anti-war forces begin their resistance to war by the creation of Zones of Safety, demilitarized and recognized by all countries, for the protection of women, children, the aged, and the sick in time of war. Such a suggestion is in harmony with a request made by the Red Cross that governments set aside such areas in neutral territory, but the governments to date have ignored that petition.

Baron Allard approached the Belgian Red Cross, the Belgian government and the UN with the idea that the territory lying between Brussels, the North Sea and the Dutch frontier be designated as a zone of security. National parks provide for the safety of wild animals. "Might not children and harmless old people of Europe appeal for the same terms to governments for protection as well as giraffes, gorillas, and rhinoceri?" he asks.

Have you ordered your Fellowship Christmas cards?

Wins Citizenship

Mrs. Leon D. Sanborne, FOR member whose husband is also a member, in November won her two and a half year fight for United States citizenship. A hostile judge had previously refused to administer to her the citizenship oath which does not include the pledge to bear arms, but permission was finally obtained to go before another, Judge Robert N. Wilkin, in Columbus, Ohio. Judge Wilkin beamed on Mrs. Sanborne, and told her "The court welcomes you to citizenship of the United States, the greatest country in the history of the world—not because it is the most powerful, but because it has achieved the noblest and greatest aspirations of mankind."

Pacifist Files Brief in Steel Case

In a brief *amicus curiae*, Fyke Farmer, FOR member and lawyer who has given up his practice to devote himself to the prevention of war, presented his views to the Supreme Court on the recent seizure of the steel companies by President Truman. Instead of dealing with legal points relating to the President's powers of seizure, he went beyond that to present evidence that United States foreign policy, and its consequent armament of itself and other countries, (which the government claimed as making the seizure necessary), were unConstitutional.

Mr. Farmer pointed out that this policy amounted to aggressive preparations for war, which were condemned by the Nuremberg court. He also declared that the use of huge sums to spread American armaments throughout the worl is an abuse of the taxing power that while Congress is forbidden t appropriate money to raise an support armies for a longer term than two years, the armed servi ices actually obtain more than the need and hoard it for future use, a well as letting contracts for longe terms; and that the present policy of placing military supplies and necessities first in the economy i wrong. He calls attention to the engagement of United States troop in Korea by an Executive Order which was wholly outside the pow ers of the President as defined in the Constitution.

The Children's Plea for Peace, o which FOR member Mrs. H. W Ruopp is founder and Director, on August 6 (Hiroshima Day) wrote a letter to President Truman protesting the threat of bombing 7 villages of North Korea, and urging constructive alternatives fo making peace.

* * *

Delegates to a regional Methodis student conference at the Assembly grounds at Lake Junaluska North Carolina, last summer voted 250 to 12 to boycott its swimming facilities because Negroes at the conference were not allowed to use them too.

* * *

Dr. Ronald V. Wells, FOR member, has resigned as pastor of the First Baptist Church, Ames, Iowa and Baptist university pastor a Iowa State College, to become As sistant executive secretary of the Board of Education and Publica tion of the Baptist Church.

Books

Psychology and War

Living without Hate: Scientific Approaches to Human Relations, by Alfred J. Marrow. Harper, 1951. 269 pp., $3.50

Psychological Factors of War and Peace, edited by T. H. Pear. New York, The Philosophical Library. 262 pp., $4.75

These two books are good and, on the whole, quite readable summaries of work by social psychologists in studying group conflict. I think both would be very useful to readers of FELLOWSHIP.

The Marrow volume is a very simple presentation, by a psychologist and industrialist, of recent scientific study and experimentation in "human relations." His approach is based upon Freud and upon the more recent work of the late German social psychologist, Kurt Lewin. Most of the book deals with projects centering around two organizations which Lewin was instrumental in establishing: the Research Center for Group Dynamics, at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the Commission on Community Interrelations, set up in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee.

Among the areas of research summarized by Marrow are: methods of reducing resistance to employment of older people, and of Negroes; methods of changing attitudes toward Negroes in interracial housing projects; methods of changing practices of housewives in the selection of foods; methods for getting people to answer bigoted remarks against racial and ethnic groups; the relative effectiveness of different kinds of answers, the development of skill in community leadership; the reduction of gang fights; the solution of labor-management conflicts.

Three conclusions seem to me to be important. One is that people "learn by doing." Thus, lecturing on the benefits of milk proved a far less successful method for inducing housewives to use more milk in the home, than did group discussion of problems of nutrition. A second is that the policy of "go slow" is often of dubious merit; says Marrow, "The nettle does not sting if grasped firmly." Thus he believes that de-segregation of a few isolated housing projects or army units provokes *more* opposition than would a sweeping overall de-segregation, because it enables the opposition to gather its forces. A third conclusion is the importance of personal conviction in any work in conflict-reduction. Thus the particular answer a person gives to a bigoted remark is less important than the conviction with which he gives whatever answer he does give.

The Pear volume is a collection of essays, sponsored by the United Nations Association. It takes as its central theme the sentence from the preamble to the U.N. charter: "Since wars begin in the minds of

men it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

The essays are of differing quality, and of varying difficulty. A few, but not many, are quite technical. The most interesting to me are Hilde Himmelweit's extensively documented summary of psychological studies in the relationship between frustration and aggression, and H. V. Dicks' study of the relationship between Nazism and German character, based on research in a prisoner-of-war camp.

"The problem of the gross immorality of the mutual behavior of sovereign states," says the Pear volume, "has never been squarely faced." In this light, the book's stress upon recent anthropological and psychological studies, which have tried to investigate "national character structure," seems to me extremely important for anyone concerned with the problem of war. Equally central is the theme that aggression, of which war is one expression, is now considered by almost all psychologists to be a product of frustration—individual and social—and that the basic attack upon the problem of war must aim at studying and reducing *both* those immediate frustrations which cripple the individual's personal development, and the broader social and economic frustrations which equally cripple him.

Finally, an important conclusion of the Pear volume—perhaps *the* most important conclusion—is that, very likely, nothing very fundamental really can be done to remove the causes of war in people who are now already adult. "Our efforts should be focused on child welfare, education, health. Adults are the bigots." —Don Calhoun

Understanding Communism

The Counterfeit Revolution, by Sidney Lens. Beacon Press, 27 pp., $3.50

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas recently reviewed this volume at length in *The Progressive* and ended his article with the statement that every one in the government ought to read the book. As I have known Sid Lens since he was a young student in New York, I am in one sense sorry that Justice Douglas beat me to this laudatory estimate; in another sense, however, I am glad to have such an impressive backer for my own commendation of the book to pacifists as well as to non-pacifists, teachers, students and citizens who want to understand the contemporary world.

The counterfeit revolution of the title is the Communist or Stalinist revolution in Russia and other lands. This is not, however, an emotional, high pitched anti-Communist blast but a sober, penetrating and vivid analysis of both Russian and American policy. The author has unusual equipment for this task, since he is not only well read, but knows radical and labor movements from the inside. For a number of years he has been the manager of an important local of building employes (A.F.L.) in Chicago. He traveled in twelve countries to gather material for this book. The result is evident in lively chapters, packed with illustrations, on such subjects as "Berlin: Window in the Iron Curtain"; "Titoist Yugoslavia"; and "First Round in Asia."

One of Lens' main theses is that Stalin "solved" the problem of rapid industrialization of a relatively backward country and the

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concurrent building of a huge war machine—for "defense" as is the habit of nations—by deciding "to sweat new capital out of the hides of his people. . . . Low consumption and forced collectivization in turn meant an enormous hostility of the people to the regime. The Stalin answer to this hostility was the most thorough-going police state in history. Labor camps in which men and women toiled at very sub-standard wages were likewise an inevitable part of this picture. The author is not one to condone the horrors of Russian labor camps or purges, but he makes it clear that these things are not accounted for as purely irrational acts of crazed sadists. He also demonstrates effectively how the Stalin regime has succeeded in maintaining elements of early idealism, and the appearance of more, so that masses in Asia and distinguished individuals such as Joliot-Curie, greatest of present-day French scientists, are drawn to it.

The second main thesis of the book is that the chief reason why the Kremlin and the Cominform are so successful, in spite of the internal weaknesses inherent in the regime which they symbolize, is that the West fails to offer the world's peoples an alternative either in the realm of practical improvements or of idealism. "We have lost all faith," he declares, "in our ability to meet the enemy on his own grounds," and he definitely does not mean military ground, but "in the arena of the minds of the people." He adds: "When you come right down to it, the West has no faith even in the victory of its arms. That is especially true of the 270 million people of Western Europe."

To my sorrow, my space is used up. Go to the book itself for the author's counter-proposals and for illuminating comments on the labor movement in Europe, the question whether communism and capitalism can "co-exist," and a lot more.

—A. J. MUSTE

Books Received

A listing of titles of interest to FELLOWSHIP readers, but for full reviews of which space is not available.

Max Josef Metzger, Priest and Martyr, by Lilian Stevenson. SPCK, 1952. 148 pp., cloth. $2. (Distributed in the U.S. by Macmillan.) Max Josef Metzger was one of the leading Roman Catholic members of the German branch of the International FOR in the days before World War II, founder of the Community of Christ the King and of the Una Sancta Movement. He was arrested by the Nazis and in 1944 beheaded as a traitor. Lilian Stevenson, biographer of the IFOR, has done a brief biographical sketch followed by accounts of the two movements he founded and a selection of the letters and poems he wrote during his imprisonment.

* * *

A Faith for Tough Times, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. Harpers, 1952. 128 pp., cloth. $1.75. The newest work of FOR-member Fosdick, as emphatic as all his books in declaring the vitality of the Christian faith in "tough times."

* * *

How to Be a Transformed Person, by E. Stanley Jones. Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1952. 364 pp., cloth. $1.50. Daily devotional readings by FOR-member Jones, author of

Abundant Living and a great many other fine books.

* * *

The Modern Rival of Christian Faith, by Georgia Harkness. Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1952. 223 pp., cloth. $2.75. Dr. Harkness, professor of applied theology at the Pacific School of Religion and an FOR member, discusses secularism and its consequences for life.

* * *

The Kingdom of God Is Within You, by Leo Tolstoy. Page, 1951. 380 pp., cloth. $3. A new printing of the famous book that had so profound an effect on Gandhi, with a remarkable foreword by musical-comedy star Mary Martin.

* * *

Gabriel and the Creatures, by Gerald Heard. Harpers, 1952. 244 pp., cloth. $3.50. A book-length fable that is probably the most diverting and readable approach to evolution yet written. Illustrated by Susanne Suba.

* * *

Answer to War, by Millard Lind. Mennonite Publishing House, 1952. 143 pp., cloth. $1.75. A simply written book intended primarily for Mennonite youth groups, *Answer to War* will be rewarding to the non-Mennonite pacifists interested in this sect's peace testimony and its origin. Some of the stories of persecution and martyrdom from the days of the Anabaptists and Menno Simons read like the Acts of the Apostles.

* * *

Your Other Vocation, by Elton Trueblood. Harpers, 1952. 125 pp., cloth. $1.50. The case for Christian laymen to make Christianity a "full-time job."

United Nations Offers Films

The United Nations Department of Public Information is putting out a series of 16mm sound films that spotlight its principal activities —political, economic and social— the world over, and reveal the constructive work that is being done to weld peoples together.

Aideen Maclennon

By ROBERT E. WILSON

A novel of the spiritual and mental growth of a young man into a conscientious objector, and his further experiences in a CPS camp, on detached service in a mental hospital, and as a "seagoing cowboy" on a boat taking cattle to Europe.

This is a well-written and extremely interesting book by a CO who has been through experiences similar to those he writes about. It is of value to the pacifist movement as the testimony of one man to an important aspect of pacifism in America. It would be an ideal gift for friends or acquaintances who are interested in pacifism, to show them the development of that belief in one person; and for pacifists themselves.

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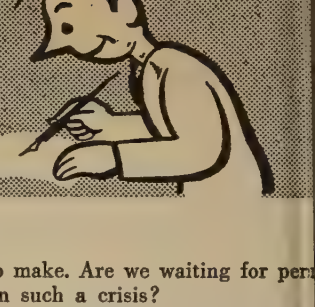
A Fellowship Publications book

Letters



A World Authority?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Our FOR unit in Honolulu recently finished reviewing Stringfellow Barr's *Let's Join the Human Race.* The evening was spent in discussing Barr's proposals in the light of those "pilot" projects already in existence, like the TVA. The group felt that his plans for a World Authority patterned after the TVA has real merit.

May we suggest that other FOR units through the world study Barr's project and express their opinion regarding it? Perhaps FELLOWSHIP could help in this process.

Our group thought that the FOR units in the world would be a logical place for the beginning of some really constructive place for peace. Could you do anything to hasten this process if you so agree?

PAUL K. MIHO
Secretary, Honolulu FOR

For Holdridge

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I was interested in Mr. Hassler's article in June FELLOWSHIP, but a little discouraged.

One has been a pacifist for many years, and feels somewhat alone, and feels the need of a "together movement" politically—and when an election year comes that is as fraught with destiny as this, with one accord all the peace organizations to which one has belonged and supported all these years, have just *no* suggestion to make. Are we waiting for perfection, in such a crisis?

Krishnalal Shridharani of India, when asked what criticism he would make of American pacifism, said, "I do not like to make criticisms of things American—but if I were to criticize American pacifism, I would say that the American pacifist is too well satisfied with his own individual pacifist stand, and makes no attempt at a mass movement—and you can't change things without mass movement." And I feel sure that he is right.

While Mr. Holdridge's platform might leave much to be desired in the way of clarity, and his technique, or that of his supporters, may be too much like old party techniques in way of vaunted confidence in winning—still when we compare his ideals with those of the old party candidates, dare we hesitate? . . .

MRS. OMAR JOYCE
Minneapolis, Kansas

For the Progressives

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I disagree with Al Hassler's conclusion that there is no satisfactory answer to the problem of how pacifists shall vote in the presidential election. I find a quite satisfactory answer in the Progressive Party, which Mr. Hassler dismisses with a remark about its near disappearance due to Communist control. Instead of being scared away by red-baiting, let's judge the Progressive Party on its own merits, remembering that the FOR has been called subversive.

The Progressive Party is the only polit-

cal party campaigning on a sincere and realistic peace platform. Its goal of building the democracy which is ours in tradition but only partly realized in practice, is dependent upon peace.

The Progressive Party provides what Mr. Hassler suggests pacifists look for in a third party: 1) A channel for the protest vote of pacifists and an increasingly larger group of non-pacifists who oppose the Korean war and "peace through strength." 2) The basis of a real opposition party. The PP has great potential strength because it is firmly based on the interests of the common people. It strongly opposes the reaction prevailing in the "twin" Democrat and Republican parties.

In their platform the Progressives outline a program for peace, economic security, and full civil rights for all citizens. . . . A few points included are: end the Korean war immediately, outlaw atomic weapons, restore trade with socialistic nations, end the draft, call a five-power peace conference, FEPC, anti-poll tax law, ratification of UN convention on Human Rights. . . .

Pacifists can further the cause of peace by voting Progressive and by participating in the ongoing Progressive program for realizing the democratic goals that are a part of what pacifists call human community.

HELEN TALBOT
San Diego, California

A Third Obligation

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Tax-refusal, as a direct means to the abolition of war, is today more pertinent and necessary than ever in world history. Belief in nonviolence, if consistent, demands *three refusals*: to *use* arms, to *make* arms, to *buy* arms. The last is perhaps the most fundamental. For *money* hires the conscript, manufactures the weapon, and shifts the economy from concern with life to the practices of death-dealing.

We say that nonviolence must apply to governments, as to individuals. Then it applies also to groups—the FOR. Smith supports war by handling over his war-tax. Then so does the organization that tax-collects for government. If there *are* any legal ways to withdraw support from war, let us learn them from Kellems and Fyke Farmer. If there are none, let us obey God rather than government.

It is better for FOR to lose its legal life and be externally hampered by government, than to be half asphyxiated by fear to act out its principles. Action by and for nonviolence is essentially a spiritual movement. It cannot be overthrown, but only strengthened, by persecution. Continued life at the price of conformity only weakens it, and later drowns it in the very catastrophe it existed to avert.

There can be only one issue today: Total War, on land, sea and air; or Total Resistance, on three levels: Refusal to *fight*, to *work* on weapons, *and to pay for either*. This logical last step is the *only* resistance (except talk) open to most women and the over-aged. And the object of all civil disobedience is *not* the comfortable by-product of conscience-salving. It is the attempt to salvage mankind by scrapping the institution of war. The conscience-salvers alone will not build the movement. Voice-protesters are good, but they are enough. The call is for triple-level, active resisters, welded into one, acting in unison, at whatever cost, believing in one another and in the irresistibility of the truth.

MARY B. MASON
Newton, Mass.

An Inconsistency?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Doesn't there seem to be some inconsistency as regards the financing of such pacifist organizations as the FOR and the

Peacemakers and others? I believe a growing number of people try as I have been doing, to deliberately keep their income low enough so that they have to pay no income tax, or an extremely small tax. But the FOR especially needs good sized contributions yearly as well as some special contributions, and naturally seems delighted when those with higher incomes help them out with money. But does it seem quite logical or possibly should we say moral to encourage people not to support war at the same time you are urging them to somehow get money to support the FOR and the Peacemakers, which (for all practical purposes, i.e., leaving out unusual types of cases) means necessarily also supporting war through income taxes?

Those like A. H. in Phoenix who earn a fairly large amount and manage to own nothing that can be seized by the government accept a great many favors it seems, in various wages, such as use of land, cottage, etc., from those people who do pay income taxes, and sometimes in such cases people are tempted to practice evasions, etc. At least that plan is not the one most of us feel is right for ourselves, nor do many of us care to help with the war program through the government taking, without our consent, our money or possessions if we refuse taxes. Wouldn't it be an astonishing thing if the FOR wrote to all its contributors that it would dissolve unless henceforth *enough small* contributions, such as those living below or close to the income tax level could afford, were received to support the FOR program! Most of us feel we want to make small contributions to a good many very important and worthy causes, and I realize that the FOR would probably collapse if the "Santa Clauses" who have higher incomes didn't come to the rescue, or at least the FOR would have to reduce its program very much. I really am quite serious in wishing that you could write something on this seeming awfully important inconsistency.

HELEN FORD
Denver, Colorado

Thanks

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

We are deeply interested in finding a most harmonious way of living and a location or group in which to indulge such. Therefore we wish to express our appreciation for the very timely series of articles you are running on cooperative communities. We easily recognize the need for good human behavior. We also recognize the fact that almost all land and natural resources are selfishly "pinned down" by "private" interests. Therefore we welcome practical details on groups of people who live peacefully as a group.

GIL & LOTTE CLARK
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